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REPORT of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**Covering the Period
February, 1948 to July, 1949,**

NINEPENCE

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE to the 21st National Congress of the Communist Party

I. INTRODUCTION

The period covered by this report is from the Twentieth Party Congress, February 1948 to July 1949.

Since the Twentieth Congress the main developments in the situation at home and abroad have been:

- (1) A further great advance and growth in the democratic forces, notably the tremendous political and economic advances of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the victories of the Chinese Liberation Army, the victory of the Czech people over reaction, and other similar political advances in the People's Democracies.
- (2) The ending of the sellers' market and beginnings of economic crisis in the capitalist world, and the growing fighting spirit of the workers for their wage demands and defence of trade union principles.
- (3) The development of the imperialists' war plans expressed through the Western Union, Brussels Pact, Ruhr Agreement, and Atlantic Pact, along with the consistent campaign to undermine the United Nations.
- (4) The simultaneous strengthening of the peace front, as shown in the successes and growing influence of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the wide response to the World Peace Congress in Paris.

The Government's policy, while striving to maintain a basis for British imperialism through violence against the Malayan people, repression in Africa and manœuvring in India and the Middle East, has increased our dependence on the United States, and assisted the American imperialists in their aim of securing political and economic domination over Britain and the entire capitalist world; it has pursued a policy of defending capitalism and of putting the burden of the growing crisis on the working class by its attacks on living standards, freezing of wages, and cuts in the social

services, while the profits of the employers have risen to unprecedented heights.

The Communist Party has carried out a continuous and widespread campaign to explain the disastrous effects on the working class which this policy involves, to put forward the alternative line of fight for the working class, and to develop the class fight of the workers against the offensive of the Government and Tories.

The attempts to isolate the Party from the working class have not met with the success that its opponents hoped for, in spite of intense attacks on the Party, reaching their high point with the purge in the Civil Service and witch-hunt in the trade unions. The Party has fought back against these attacks and in the trade unions, and although we have met with some set-backs, the majority of our comrades have retained their positions and some new positions have been won.

During recent months a growing number of trade unions have gone on record against the witch-hunt and refused to operate it in their own ranks. These decisions have coincided with a growth of industrial struggle and up-surge of the wages movement.

Those of our comrades in the Civil Service who have fallen victims to the purge have fought back magnificently, maintaining their right to hold their political opinions.

Throughout the period there has been a mounting barrage against the Party in the capitalist press. On many occasions there was incitement to violence against the Party meetings, speakers, and canvassers. Our Party, however, has not been intimidated by this but has fought back and in almost all cases has succeeded in defeating attempts to break up its meetings and interfere with its activities.

The E.C. wishes to place on record its appreciation of the heroic and tireless work which has been carried through in this period by the Party and is confident that with the development of events this work will bring a reward.

2. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Twentieth Congress Report was published under the title "Britain, Free and Independent". All the subsequent developments bore out the correctness of the Congress analysis and policy.

Immediately following the Congress a campaign was launched on popularise its decisions. We explained the significance of the events in Czechoslovakia and issued 150,000 leaflets on this issue.

An important feature of the campaign was the centenary celebrations of the *Communist Manifesto*. Over 5,000 attended a great celebration meeting and pageant in the Albert Hall and big meetings, demonstrations, and marches were held in Scotland, Lancashire, and other parts of the country. This period also saw the development of our peace campaign. The *Daily Worker* organised a great Peace Conference in London with 1,300 delegates and a Scottish Peace Conference in Glasgow which was attended by over 600 delegates. A pamphlet by R. Palme Dutt—"How to Save Peace"—was issued and over 60,000 copies were sold.

The Party took part in the Paris World Peace Congress and assisted in the reporting-back campaign, a feature of which was the large number

of huge demonstrations addressed by Paul Robeson in London, Scotland, and Lancashire.

During the period we were called upon to undertake many actions of international solidarity with workers and Brother Parties in other countries. The chief of these was, of course, in connection with our Greek comrades, who have been sentenced to death and executed by the fascist government, and the campaign in which we participated resulted in several death sentences being stayed. The E.C. was represented at a Conference on Greece called by the League for Democracy in Greece. Betty Bartlett has had a splendid reception in the series of working-class organisations she has addressed. Other campaigns of a similar character were conducted around Malaya, Spain, the arrest of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., and a deputation went to the High Commissioner for India to protest against the arrest of the Indian trade union leaders. When, at the request of the American State Department, Gerhart Eisler was arrested by British police, the response of the Party was immediate and effective. It played a leading part in the great movement which resulted in Gerhart Eisler being released and allowed to return to Germany. Our Party comrades in the port areas also gave splendid support to the Canadian seamen who were on strike.

With the growing economic crisis and threat of slump, the Party's activities in defence of living standards increased. In September 1948 the E.C. issued a manifesto, "Smash the Attack on Living Standards", of which 517,000 copies were distributed.

We also consistently campaigned on wages and against rent increases. The E.C., assisted by our building trade comrades, presented a lengthy report and proposals to the Government's working party on building, which has since been published as a booklet.

Since the last Congress we have contested Parliamentary By-Elections in Wigan, Gorbals, and North St. Pancras. In all three cases splendid campaigns were conducted, led by our candidates, which resulted in our policy being put to tens of thousands of workers and the Party standing out as a force fighting for an alternative policy.

The publication of the new *Daily Worker* on November 1 was an outstanding event. The Party campaigned to raise the additional share capital required for the new paper and has since campaigned to increase its circulation. We now have a paper which for presentation of working-class news is second to none and we confidently appeal to the Party to make the maximum use of the paper as a weapon to develop the struggle in defence of peace and living standards and to build the Communist Party.

In February 1949 an extended meeting of the Executive Committee was held to discuss the new problems which have arisen since the Congress and our perspective, especially in relation to the General Election. In preparation for this, a political letter, "Party Initiative and the Mass Movement" was issued for discussion in all Party organisations and the press. Besides creating a considerable amount of constructive discussion inside the Party, this letter attracted a good deal of attention* in the capitalist press.

Over 200 delegates attended the Extended E.C., the report of which was published under the title "Communism and Labour". One of the decisions of this meeting was that we should go forward in the General

Election with 100 candidates and at the time this Report to the 21st Congress was prepared seventy-nine had been adopted. A special Commission, under the Chairmanship of Comrade R. P. Dutt, was set up to prepare our programme for the General Election and this was being finalised at the time of the preparation of this report.

In the Municipal Elections which followed the Extended E.C. the Party contested to a greater extent than ever before with over 900 candidates and our policy was put to millions of voters. After the elections the E.C. issued a Political Letter to the membership explaining their lessons.

Following the publication of the Communist Information Bureau's resolution on Yugoslavia all the Districts organised aggregate meetings of the Party membership to discuss the resolution. At these meetings votes were taken which showed that the overwhelming majority of the Party membership were in full support of the resolution of the Communist Information Bureau.

An important development of our work has been in the ideological field and in April 1949 a Battle of Ideas Conference was organised, attended by several hundred comrades, including representatives of our members in a large number of professions and districts. Since then several of our District Committees have organised similar conferences.

An important weapon in the ideological fight was the publication of Comrade Gallacher's *The Case for Communism* by Penguin Books. Its total sale was 100,000 and of this total the Party Bookshops were responsible for 65,000.

Continuous attention has been given to the problems of youth and to the strengthening of the Young Communist League, and this has resulted in an increase in the membership and activity of the League.

The Executive Committee has constantly stressed the building of the Communist Party as a vital task in the present period, and has launched a Party-Building Campaign for the period May 1 to the Twenty-First Party Congress in November 1949.

Other Questions Dealt With by the Executive Committee

During the course of its sixteen meetings, the Executive Committee has given attention to various political questions as they have arisen and in addition there have been discussions on a number of special questions, including Africa, the Catholics and Communism, the Co-operative Movement, women and the national question in Britain.

The Executive has given attention to a number of matters affecting Party organisation, membership, administration, and finance, and approved the annual budget and financial statement.

Visits to our Brother Parties

We have sent fraternal delegates to a number of Congresses of Brother Parties. Comrades Pollitt and Gollan were delegates to the Czechoslovakia Party Congress. Comrade Pollitt also attended Congresses of the Norwegian, Finnish, Bulgarian, and Polish Parties, and the funeral of Comrade Dimitrov. Comrade Kerrigan attended the Unity Congress of the Hungarian Party. Comrade Burns the Austrian Party Congress, Comrade

Mahon the Belgian, Comrade Stewart the Danish, Comrade Campbell the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress.

Messages of greeting were sent to the Italian Party on the occasion of the attempt on the life of Comrade Togliatti, and to the Communist Parties of Venezuela and South Africa, the Labour Progressive Party of Canada, and the Swiss Workers Party.

Messages from the Executive Committee

During the period since the Twentieth Congress the Executive Committee has sent messages of congratulation to Comrade Frank Haxell on his election as Assistant Secretary of the E.T.U.; Bill Joss, Mrs. Stewart and T. A. Jackson on their seventieth birthdays; George Hardy on his sixty-fifth birthday; Cis Raven on her sixtieth birthday; Peter Kerrigan, Idris Cox, Pat Devine and Leo Gollhard on their fiftieth birthdays.

3. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

At the first meeting of the E.C. after the Twentieth Congress the following comrades were elected to the Political Committee:

GEORGE ALLISON, EMILE BURNS, J. R. CAMPBELL, R. P. DUTT, J. GOLLAN, P. KERRIGAN, W. LAUHLAN, J. MAHON, G. MATTHEWS, P. PIRATIN, H. POLLITT, W. RUST.

* The following officials were elected:

Chairman	-	-	-	-	W. GALLACHER
Vice-Chairman	-	-	-	-	R. P. DUTT
Secretary	-	-	-	-	H. POLLITT
Assistant Secretary	-	-	-	-	J. GOLLAN
Organisation Department	-	-	-	-	P. KERRIGAN
Economic Department	-	-	-	-	G. ALLISON
Women's Department	-	-	-	-	T. RUST
International Department	-	-	-	-	R. P. DUTT

In March 1949 Comrade Gollan was relieved of his duties to become Assistant Editor of the *Daily Worker*, and Comrade George Matthews was appointed Assistant Secretary.

The Political Committee has met weekly. In between Executive Committee meetings it has constantly reviewed the political situation and the Party's activity, discussed a number of special questions, and made preparations for the meetings of the E.C.

Each of the larger districts of the Party has twice presented reports of their work which have been discussed by the Political Committee with the District Secretary present.

The General Secretary has sent out to all E.C. members, District Secretaries, and a number of other leading comrades a weekly letter reporting the decisions of the Political Committee and the Sub-Committees of the E.C.

4. SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) The Organisation Committee

This Committee, under the chairmanship of Comrade Kerrigan, the National Organiser, and including the heads of all Departments at the Party Centre, has met every week and been responsible for developing and

checking on all Party campaigns initiated by the E.C. and carrying through the decisions of the National Congress.

It has been responsible for planning the Party-Building Campaigns in the summers of 1948 and 1949, dealing with the various aspects of the work of the Departments at the Party Centre, supervising the work of Party enterprises, receiving quarterly finance statements, and a variety of other questions of Party organisation and administration.

The Committee has regularly reviewed the problems associated with the building of the Party and Young Communist League and winning increased circulation for the *Daily Worker*. Special attention has been given in this to the development of our activity and organisation in the factories.

The Committee has given attention to the extension of the sales of literature and periodicals issued by the Party and friendly organisations, the development of Marxist education, our work amongst women, youth, and our activity in the countryside.

Since last Congress it has made two separate examinations of the work of all Party Districts with the exception of the larger Districts, whose work is examined by the Political Committee with the District Secretary in attendance. Similar examinations have been made of the work of all Party enterprises.

The cadres work has been reviewed on several occasions, and proposals made to the Districts in relation to its further development.

The Finance Sub-Committee has reviewed finance work of all the Party Districts and enterprises, prepared the budget and quarterly finance statements for the Organisation Committee and the Executive Committee, and regularly reviewed the progress of the national fighting fund and considered a variety of other detailed financial problems that have arisen. It has, in addition, given constant attention to the problem of increasing the dues payment and the establishment of a more effective Party machine for this purpose, based on the appointment of more dues collectors.

(b) International Affairs Committee

The International Committee has met monthly under the chairmanship of R. P. Dutt. Reports on a wide range of subjects, international and colonial, have been discussed by the Committee, including discussions on U.N.O., the Dominions Premiers' Conferences, Germany, Western Union, Malaya, S.E. Asia, the Middle East, Palestine, Ceylon, India, Ireland, Nigeria, China, the Peace Campaign, and the anti-imperialist movement in Britain.

Special attention has been given to the development of campaigns of international solidarity and against imperialist oppression, including support for the struggle of the people of Malaya, Greece, and Spain, and the fight for democracy in the U.S.A.

The nine sub-committees or special committees associated with the International Committee have also met regularly to discuss the problems and plan propaganda in relation to the areas with which they are concerned. These nine committees cover (1) the Far East, (2) Middle East, (3) India, (4) Africa, (5) West Indies, (6) Dominions, (7) Irish, (8) Jewish, (9) European. The International Committee has received regular reports

from these sub-committees, and they have supplied both material for the Department and for publication, and have initiated a number of campaigns such as those on the repression in India, the executions in Iraq, the shootings of the Gold Coast and Uganda, and the West Indian stowaways.

The different sub-committees have prepared material for the Political and Executive Committees and information documents for general circulation on a variety of issues arising.

In addition, their work has provided the material and policy guidance for the publication of four self-supporting duplicated periodicals: (1) Africa Newsletter, (2) India Newsletter, (3) Middle East Newsletter, (4) West Indies Newsletter. The *Jewish Clarion* has unfortunately temporarily ceased publication.

In October 1948 a special conference was organised in co-operation with the Education Department on the Crisis of British Imperialism. This was attended by representatives from twelve Districts and from a large number of special Groups, and was followed by special schools on Comrade Dutt's opening report in a number of areas. The conference dealt with the new tactics of imperialism in the era of rapidly deepening imperialist crisis, the role of Social Democracy in the service of imperialism, and showed the practical tasks arising for our Party. It led to a considerable development of our campaign of exposure of the Labour Government's colonial policy and to a closer linking of colonial questions with the day-to-day issues facing the people. It was also followed by a considerable, though still insufficient, increase in attention to colonial problems in some parts of the country which have particularly close links with colonial peoples.

(c) The Social Services Committee

This Committee has met regularly since our last Congress under the chairmanship of Comrade William Rust until his death on February 3, 1949, and since then under Comrade J. Gollan.

It has closely examined all aspects of social service and, since November, the common problems affecting local government.

Dealing with the manifold issues arising from the social service legislation of the Government, it has devoted its attention to advising the E.C. on many and varied issues, including divorce law, school meals, Local Government Reform and the Boundary Commission, unemployment, the National Health Service, local finance, ex-Servicemen's welfare, nurses' wages, Rent Restriction Acts and the rents campaign, youth and education, youth and health, unemployment amongst youth; together with various aspects of housing and education.

The Committee also assisted the Party in the preparation of a Press statement on the housing position in January.

It has also discussed various Government reports on social welfare, such as that on Neo-Natal Mortality and the Royal Commission on Population, and placed proposals before the leading bodies of the Party.

Various statements have been drawn up for publication.

(d) Economic Committee

The Economic Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of J. R.

Campbell, has since the last Party Congress been continuing its survey of economic conditions in Britain.

Its survey of the trends visible in the first half-year of 1948 formed the basis of the Party manifesto issued in September of that year.

The Committee also submitted to the Executive suggestions for incorporation in the General Election manifesto.

In April, the Committee held a successful conference on the Social Democratic theory of a mixed economy and caused several articles to be printed in the Party Press on this theme.

As a result of the conference there was a recruitment of personnel to the sub-committee.

The following work is now in progress:

Slump trends as far as they affect Britain.

The governing class. Who are the actual controllers of Britain's industry?

The theory and practice of Keynesianism.

It is hoped to issue a booklet on the first theme before the General Election.

Materials derived from the other studies will be used in articles in the Party Press.

(e) Women's Advisory Council

The Women's Advisory Council, under the chairmanship of Comrade Tamara Rust, has been meeting regularly every month. In addition to monthly meetings, it has been holding regular quarterly meetings which are attended by representatives of most of the main Districts. It is working now as a collective team.

The main work of the Council has been the discussion of issues and campaigns particularly affecting women; the presentation of the Party policy to women; the development of women cadres and leadership in the Districts; the work of women's sections; and, in the recent period particularly, the development of a mass movement in defence of living standards and peace in line with the decisions and resolution on women at the May Executive Committee.

The questions and campaigns discussed included the fight against the rise in the cost of living, for maintenance of subsidies, the de-rationing of sweets, price of children's shoes, family allowances, etc.

On education the Council paid particular attention to the overcrowding in schools, nurseries, position of the under fives, school meals.

Women actively participated in rent campaigns. Support to various wage claims and equal pay are coming again to the forefront.

The campaign of solidarity with the children of the French miners and the adoption of orphans of the Resistance movement was widely developed, particularly through the women's sections.

In addition, in a number of Districts women's sections actively assisted the fight of the Canadian seamen.

The biggest campaign now has been the defence of peace as illustrated in the support to the peace demonstration of International Women's Day,

the sending of a delegation to the Budapest Women's Congress, the support of the Paris World Congress, and the Peace Buses.

This campaign has included a variety of methods and forms of agitation, peace petitions in market stalls, deputations to M.P.s, peace notebooks.

The Peace Campaign has brought us in touch with a considerable number of unorganised women and won the support of a number of women in the Co-operative and Labour movement.

During the past year twenty-five visits have been paid to sixteen Districts by Comrade Tamara Rust and other members of the Advisory Council.

Attention has been given to Party education and the training of cadres among women, which resulted in the organisation of a number of schools, nationally, and in the Districts.

A number of Districts are regularly holding women's conferences as a method of training and mobilising women.

Women's Sections

There are 193 sections in thirteen Districts. As noted by the Executive Committee May resolution, they have proved their value as an important factor in the development of mass campaigns among women, and there is an urgent need for their extension and improvement of their work.

Woman Today

The sales of *Woman Today* have been maintained, and there is a greater use of the paper in the Party. However, the Advisory and the Editorial Board have been giving consideration to the improvement of the paper and the extension of its sales, so that the paper can become more of a campaigning and mobilising force.

The Women's Advisory Council continues to support the work of the International Women's Day Committee.

It also forms a part of a British Section of the Women's International Democratic Federation, which has been responsible for the campaign around the Budapest Congress, for a number of international solidarity actions, and has co-operated in the sending of food to the French miners' families.

(f) Youth Advisory Committee

Two meetings of the National Youth Advisory Committee have been held since the last Congress, and the Working Committee has met monthly. Representation at the national meetings has improved, fourteen Districts being represented at the first meeting and thirteen at the second, and in a number of Districts leading full-time and other workers are now responsible for youth work.

The Working Committee has discussed the Juvenile Employment Bill, 1948, youth and the building industry, conscription and length of military service, the National Youth Parliament 1948, and material has been issued on the economic position of young people in Britain. Continuous attention has been given to the work of the Young Communist League and *Challenge*, and all major campaigns and activities assisted, in particular the 1949 "Youth Weeks". Reports have been received by League

delegates to the Warsaw Conference of Working Youth 1948, the W.F.D.Y. Council and Executive meetings, the Eleventh Komsomol Congress, the Paris Peace Congress, and preparations for the Budapest Festival of Youth and Students, and Second World Youth Congress 1949. Documentary material was issued on youth and the Paris Peace Congress.

The practice of reviewing the youth work of the Party Districts has been continued, and reports have been taken from a number of Districts, including London, Wales, Yorkshire, and the Midlands.

Visits have been made to a number of the Districts by the Secretary.

The work of the National Student Committee has been discussed on a number of occasions, and the practice of the Secretary attending important meetings of the N.S.C. has continued.

This Committee has been, since its formation until April of this year, under the chairmanship of Peter Kerrigan, who has given great assistance to the development of all aspects of youth work. Comrade George Matthews has now taken over the chairmanship of this Committee. John Moss was relieved of the secretaryship to take over the work as full-time Student Organiser for the students. Comrade John Hostettler is now the Secretary of the Committee.

National Student Committee

The National Student Committee has met approximately every six weeks since the last Congress. Extended meetings with representatives of each student branch have been held during each academic vacation, and the Annual Conference in September 1948 was attended by delegates from nineteen branches. A Working Committee meets fortnightly.

Branches and groups are now established in most universities and university colleges, and progress has been made in building the Party in other higher education institutions. The present student membership is 800.

London and Scottish Student Committees meet regularly and lead the work among students in these important areas. The London Committee organised a one-day conference in October 1948, and in January 1949 the first conference of Scottish Party students was attended by thirty-nine delegates.

National cadres schools have been held in each vacation, as well as faculty schools for economics, history, science, and literature students.

The main campaigns of the student comrades have been round the fight for increased grants to students and for the expansion of higher education, the development of the peace campaign, the extension of international friendship and solidarity with youth in Greece, Spain, and the colonial countries, and waging the battle of ideas against reactionary ideology in the universities and colleges. Policies have been prepared and publicised on the Working Party's report on university awards and on the report of the University Grants Committee.

Co-operation has improved with the Y.C.L. and youth movement in a number of important centres, and in many universities common actions have developed between Communist and Labour students.

(g) National Cultural Committee

The Committee has met monthly, and has helped to raise the battle of ideas as an important part of the Party struggle. In April 1948 a

National Battle of Ideas Conference was held, followed by eight District Conferences. District Cultural Committees have been formed in Scotland, Midlands, and North-East Coast. A National Conference on Communism and Liberty has also been arranged. Among problems discussed by the Committee have been: Peace Campaign; the Soviet ideological discussions; "Western Civilisation"; organisations of writers, artists, scientists, etc. In the development of our organisation, important advances have been made among the scientists (the Engels Society and its groups), historians, and architects. Through the various groups a great deal of activity and discussion has taken place in preparations for articles, policy statements, etc.

The Committee also assisted in the preparation of articles for the Party press and materials on the Tercentenary of the English Revolution.

5. DEPARTMENTS AT PARTY CENTRE

(a) Economic Department

Since the 20th Party Congress the Department has had to handle many important issues arising out of our Congress decisions, developments in the economic situation, and the policy being pursued by the Government. In the report which follows, the most important of these issues are dealt with.

Wage Freeze

We have to note that the wages policy of the Government was endorsed by a Conference of Trade Union Executives, and that despite pledges given at that conference, the position of the working class was worsened by the failure of the Government to take any measures to control profits and reduce prices.

A detailed examination of the effects of government policy in the various industries was undertaken, and revealed that serious inroads were being made on the living standards through the enforced stabilisation of wages in a period of rising prices and mounting profits. The Party's views on these questions have been consistently put forward in the Press, and were argued in the pamphlet "Wages, Prices and Profits" written by W. C. Stevens, and in the Party Manifesto, "Smash the Attack on Living Standards", produced after the Margate Trades Union Congress.

Throughout the whole period wide sections of the workers have taken part in a movement aimed at raising wages, restricting profits, and increasing subsidies on essential commodities. These issues have figured as principal items in all the professional and trade union conferences held in the current year; and, as this Report is being written, miners, engineers, railwaymen, cotton textile workers, building trade workers, passenger transport and distributive workers, and several grades of civil servants are either formulating or pressing claims on the Government or the employers.

As a vital part of the struggle for the defence and improvement of living standards, continuous attention has been directed to the failure of the Government to carry out the accepted policy of the Labour movement in the fight for equal pay.

In a number of areas it has been found necessary to campaign against the danger of the growth of permanent unemployment. In such former depressed areas as Scotland, South Wales, Merseyside, and the North-East Coast a further agitation has been carried out on the basis of concrete

proposals and representations have been made to the appropriate authorities.

The Fight for Democratic Rights

The campaign of misrepresentation and discrimination against progressive elements in the trade union and Labour movement, launched as far back as 1947 by a series of articles in the capitalist press and the notorious circular by Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party, was maintained throughout 1948. At the Trades Union Congress this was one of the main themes of the right-wing leaders; and immediately after Congress the General Council stepped up the campaign by the production of the document "Defend Democracy", and, later, another document, "The Tactics of Disruption".

These and subsequent statements purported to be an exposure of the disruptive activities of the Communist Party inside the trade unions. They contained no evidence to support their assertions, but consisted merely of misrepresentation and innuendo.

The Party has consistently fought back against this unprincipled attack, showing that the real purpose of the initiators was to spread confusion in the movement and retard the real fight for trade union wages and conditions.

We have issued a special folder entitled "Deakin Exposed", a pamphlet by Comrade Pollitt "Trade Unionists--What Next?", and a leaflet "Trade Unions and Communism" and another pamphlet entitled, "Defend Trade Union Rights", all answering these attacks.

In addition to these, the *Daily Worker* has given current treatment to the attacks levelled against the Party and individual members holding leading positions in the unions.

Every effort has been made to expose the real purpose of these attacks, and to combat the campaigns of the capitalist press and extraneous bodies to weaken the working-class movement.

The Civil Service Purge

In March 1948 the Government issued a statement indicating measures that would be taken against Communists and Communist adherents holding responsible positions in certain sections of the Civil Service on the grounds of their disloyalty and political unreliability. From the outset our press and propaganda efforts were directed to show the two-fold purpose of this campaign: to whip up anti-Communist feeling, and to make inroads on the traditional democratic rights of the individual.

As a result of the operation of this declaration a number of Civil Servants have been suspended or transferred to other work. The Government's action has been strongly combated at every stage in most cases by the individuals concerned and by their trade unions.

A Government report recently published dealing with the application of the purge to Civil Servants is now the subject of consideration.

International Solidarity

Our Twentieth Congress gave serious attention to the attacks being made against the World Federation of Trade Unions by the American Federation of Labour, supported by certain trade union leaders, despite their affiliation to the W.F.T.U. Simultaneously the International Trade Secretariats were working to prevent the complete unification of all the

affiliated centres in the Federation and its appropriate Trade Departments.

The attack on the World Federation was considerably sharpened as a result of decisions taken by the Margate T.U.C., and the actions of the General Council and the C.I.O. subsequently, leading up to the withdrawal of the C.I.O., T.U.C., and Dutch representatives in January of this year.

Besides current treatment in the *Daily Worker*, this issue has been the subject of a number of articles and statements in all our current publications, particularly in *World News and Views*. Attention has been drawn to the great benefits that accrued to the whole working-class movement through a united and representative international, not only in defence and improvement of living standards, but for the destruction of fascism and the building of a lasting peace.

The Department assisted in the circulation of George Sinfield's pamphlet, "Wreckers", published by the *Daily Worker*, and has constantly prepared materials to expose and refute the splitting manoeuvres of the reactionary trade union elements.

In the sphere of international solidarity the Department has had occasion to give publicity to the heroic struggles of the Greek trade union movement in defence of their democratic rights, freedom of speech and assembly; the fight of the Malayan trade unionists against repression; the widespread persecution of the All-India T.U.C. with the arrest of its leaders and closing down of its premises; and have continued our support of the fight of the Spanish people for democracy and trade union rights.

Support was also given to the heroic struggle of the French miners against lowered standards, and, more recently, to the Canadian seamen in their fight to preserve wages and conditions of services; and here we must place on record our admiration for the splendid solidarity actions developed by the dockers in Avonmouth, Liverpool, and particularly London.

(b) The Organisation Department

The Organisation Department has been responsible for preparing the agendas and materials for the meeting of the Organisation Committee, dealing with its detailed work and ensuring that all decisions taken are carried through.

Its main work, therefore, has been the day-to-day supervision and development of the Party campaigns and the fight to build the Party. In particular constant attention has been given to the improvement of the work of the Party in relationship to the factories and the building of factory branches and groups. The resolution of the Extended E.C. on this question was circulated to all Party branches and discussions have taken place with most of the districts on the operation of this resolution. As a result there has been a considerable increase in the number of our factory organisations, and in most of the districts this work is receiving considerable attention. However, there still remains the problem that a large proportion of the Party branches are not giving sufficient attention to establishing organisation in the factories in their area.

The Department has prepared materials for the Party press dealing with our campaigns and popularising the experience of the districts and branches. More regular reporting from branches to the districts and from the districts to the centre would enable the Department to give even more assistance to the Party through the popularisation of experiences.

The District Bulletins have been studied regularly and from time to time points from them have been taken up with the districts.

The Department has supervised the arrangements for District Congresses and made suggestions for the political materials prepared for them and arranged for the E.C. to be represented.

The Department has been responsible for the supervision of our cadres' work and keeping this constantly before the Party. It has worked closely on this with the Education Department, and following every National School the work of each student has been reviewed and suitable comments and suggestions made to the district from which each student came. Together with the Education Department a syllabus on "Communist Leadership" was published and this has been the subject of a number of District, Area, and Branch Schools.

Reports on the development of our cadres' work have been prepared for the Organisation Committee and, while in most of the Party districts there is now a conscious attitude to the development of cadres, it is only in a handful of branches that similar steps are taken.

The National Organiser has visited a number of districts and given them assistance with their problems. The National Treasurer, too, has assisted the districts by personal visits and correspondence.

The regular monthly meetings of the District Secretaries, to hear the report-back of the E.C. and discuss current problems and campaigns, have been continued and here proved to be a valuable medium for ensuring close and continuous contact with the problems the districts face.

A number of staffing problems at the Party centre and the districts have been dealt with during this period, and the Department has continued to issue its weekly *Central Bulletin* to leading comrades in the districts, co-ordinating information and directives from all departments at the Party centre.

Membership and Dues.—Our total registered membership was 40,161 as at March 31, 1949, organised in approximately 1,300 area and factory branches.

Careful consideration was given to the lessons of the 1949 registration, and, as a result, new methods of checking and reporting on membership and dues have been introduced and came into operation at the end of the June quarter. Given the full co-operation of every district and branch and a political fight to secure 100 per cent reporting, these should help to give the Party more up-to-date and accurate information about the actual dues position of our membership, branch by branch, the number of functioning dues collectors, and also the necessary information that will enable transfers to be dealt with more expeditiously.

It was also felt necessary to outline a procedure with regard to the lapsing of members, making this a collective responsibility of the branch leadership and subject to the sanction and authority of the higher Party Committee in each case.

The Department is keeping the dues organisation constantly under review with the aim of speedily bringing about the improvement so urgently necessary and to make it possible to complete the registration in 1950 in a shorter time and with less difficulty.

(c) Propaganda and Education Department

Publications.—Since the last Congress, the Central Propaganda Department has published forty-five pamphlets and folders (970,000 copies), one Special for the local elections (115,000 copies), and eleven Education Syllabuses (80,000 copies). Mention should also be made of Comrade Gallacher's *The Case for Communism*, which Penguin Books published in 100,000 copies.

Five pamphlets were published in the summer of 1948 in "The Communist Case" series, with total sales of 249,000; and in the summer of 1949 a "Workshop Talks" series was begun; 52,000 of the first ("Those Russians", by Harry Pollitt) and 40,000 of the second ("Communism and Liberty", by Wm. Gallacher, M.P.) have been sold.

Periodicals.—Central Propaganda Department has also been responsible for the publication of the *Communist Review* and *World News and Views*.

Leaflets.—Fifteen leaflets for mass distribution have been issued from the centre, and a total of 2,686,000 copies were taken by the districts.

Posters.—Only four posters were issued by the centre, in a total of 10,000 copies.

In addition to the material issued by the centre, large numbers of pamphlets, local and factory papers, leaflets and posters were produced by district, area, borough, and branch organisations of the Party, especially in connection with the local elections in 1949.

Meetings.—It is still not possible to give any total for the number of public meetings held throughout the Party, as full figures are only available for three districts. The large demonstrations, often preceded by marches, with Comrades Pollitt, Gallacher, or Piratin as speakers, have all been successful, especially during the campaign period of 1949. Reports also show a marked increase in the number of people attending our other meetings in recent months; and there has been an increase, though as yet inadequate, in the number of factory gate meetings this summer.

In some districts series of public lectures on the basic theory of Communism have been well attended; Centre Propaganda Department has issued a set of Notes for such lectures, to be used at open-air meetings as well as indoors.

Education

In the period December 1947–June 1949, the Central Education Department was responsible for the organisation of thirteen National Schools, attended by 233 students. These included two residential schools, one for a fortnight, the other a week, for leading district and Y.C.L. cadres respectively; the first National School for women cadres, and a Northern School for Y.C.L. cadres from five districts, in which Party districts shared the costs. These were all highly successful, and fully justified the decision to make the experiments. The other schools, however, were rarely fully taken up; the districts were late in making nominations and often insufficient care was given to the selection of students.

The 1948 Summer Schools showed a considerable advance, with 419 students, as compared with 131 and 261 in the two previous years. The 1949 Summer Schools have been attended by even more students. The Lancashire district organised a week's Summer School, at which thirty-four students were present.

In October 1948 a National Conference on Party Education was

attended by twenty-six comrades from fifteen districts and a Y.C.L. representative to discuss the Place, Content, and Materials of Marxist Education; character and organisation of district education, including cadres' and tutor training and the drive for Marxist education in the basic units of the Party.

In the districts the majority have Education Secretaries and/or Committees. Increasing attention has been given to education for industrial comrades, though much has yet to be done in this respect. Over the period twenty district week's schools have been organised, principally in London, Scotland, and Lancashire. A good development has been the organisation of such schools by two smaller districts, one—in Kent—being on a residential basis.

A member of the Department was allocated to work with the Y.C.L. Education Committee and regular assistance has been given to the League in the organisation of League education and the preparation of materials.

The Department has given assistance to the development and organisation of education and in the preparation of schools for student comrades. Assistance has also been given to the International Department in the organisation of special schools.

(d) Parliamentary and Local Government Department

The growing weight of work in the Parliamentary field brought about a situation where the Local Government activities were taken over by the Social Services Committee, whose activities interlinked with most aspects of Local Government. The Parliamentary and Local Government Department concentrate on election work, both for Parliamentary and Local Government Elections. The pamphlet on "How to Fight Local Elections" was revised to cover the changes brought about by the "Representation of the People's Act 1948".

A great deal of work has been done on the various new Bills, particularly on the Bill introduced by Comrade Piratin. In this connection the Department is indebted to the Lawyers Group for their able assistance in drafting the Bill. Other committees did fine work on the Housing, Local Government, and Representation of the People Bills. On Local Government the Party issued a statement on Local Government Reform, which received wide publicity and praise, even from such papers as *The Economist*.

Following the decisions of the Extended E.C. to put up 100 Parliamentary candidates, the Department began to make active preparations for the necessary work connected with the selection of Parliamentary candidates. Up till the preparation of this report, seventy prospective candidates had already been selected to stand for the general election.

(e) Women's Department

The main work of the Women's Department is to assist and guide the development of work in the districts, as well as to handle problems which come from the districts in relation to work among women. Apart from correspondence, production of special material, and a monthly letter, close personal contact is maintained with the main Districts through visits, attendance at women's conferences, and discussions with Party committees.

The Department actively assists the development of women's sections, as well as the development of the broad mass movement, i.e. on peace, British-Soviet friendship among women, work of international solidarity with women's organisations in other countries.

The Department works in close connection with other departments at the Party centre, particularly industrial and organisation, and has frequent consultation with Education and Propaganda Departments on production of materials and syllabuses.

The production of *Woman Today* is part of the work of the Department, which is assisted by the existence of an Editorial Board.

Twenty-five visits to sixteen districts have been organised by the Department during the past year.

The Department has also been responsible for the organisation of a number of deputations to various ministries, i.e. Ministry of Food on prices, price of children's shoes to the Board of Trade, etc.

(f) International Department

The International Department has been responsible, together with the International Affairs Committee, for supplying the Political Committee and the Executive Committee with information on international questions and for assisting in carrying through campaigns on these issues.

A great deal of material has been supplied to the Party press and periodicals on the imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union, the increased repression of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and the world movements for peace and against imperialism. Information has been supplied to our two M.P.s for questions in Parliament, and their activities continue to win the admiration of oppressed people everywhere. The Department continues to get letters, periodicals, and information material from many parts of the world, although strict censorship has interfered with the free exchange of information in a number of cases. It also supervises the publication of the various duplicated newsletters.

The International Department co-operated with the Education Department in the organisation of the Conference on the Crisis of British Imperialism.

A Conference on Ireland has also been held, and special education classes and lectures have been organised in co-operation with the Education Department and the student branches.

During the year, Comrade Michael Carritt left to take up other work and was replaced by Comrade Maud Rogerson. The Department suffered a special blow in the death of Comrade Jimmy Shields, whose work on international questions had made him invaluable to our Party. His place has now been taken by Comrade Bob Stewart, who is assisted by Comrade Eileen Palmer.

6. OUR COMMUNIST M.P.s

The importance of Communist representation in the House of Commons has been still more firmly proved by the struggle our two M.P.s have put up. Their activities in the House have been a source of inspiration as well as an object lesson of how to utilise every opportunity and occasion for the best interests of the Party and the working class.

An important event in the work of our M.P.s was the introduction of a Bill by Phil Piratin, "The Safety of Employment (Employers' Liability) Bill", which sought to bring under the Factory Acts about 11 million workers who are not covered. A committee of Labour M.P.s was formed to steer the Bill through the Commons, whilst strong support was received from many trade unions. The Bill was withdrawn on the promise by the Minister of Labour that legislation covering the Bill would be introduced.

The M.P.s have participated in numerous debates and questions covering a vast number of subjects. Amongst these were: Housing; the Budget; Mining; Food; Prices; Rents; Local Government; Foreign Affairs, etc., etc. A number of the speeches they made were printed as folders.

Both M.P.s participated to the full on a number of important Bills such as the Local Government Bill, Civil Defence Bill, Criminal Justices Bill, Employment and Training Bill, Gas Bill, National Service Bill, Representation of the Peoples Bill, Statute Law Revision Bill, etc. In a number of these many amendments were put down.

Firm resistance was offered whenever the question of increased prices came up, and a number of debates took place initiated by our M.P.s on the increase in the price of cheese, butter, meat, margarine, clothing, etc.

Notices of Motion asking for debates were put down on the King's Speech, the Yangtse Incident, Conscription, the Atlantic Pact, Expenditure on Arms, etc.

Both M.P.s are now fully occupied in preparing for the General Election in their constituencies, and as a consequence have been forced to limit their propaganda meetings in other parts of the country. This was further limited by the decision that the main work of the M.P.s must lie in the House of Commons.

7. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Young Communist League has considerably developed its membership, *Challenge* sales, and activity among youth in the period since the last Congress.

The membership on July 1 was 3,343—an increase of 1,343 since the last Congress report. The average weekly *Challenge* sale is now 16,000, an advance of 3,500 in the period.

Many new branches of the Y.C.L. have been formed, and there are now nine functioning District Committees and leaderships.

The Sixteenth National Congress of the Y.C.L. held on May 21 and 22 was attended by a total of 280 delegates representing 194 branches. It was able to record a very great development in all features of Y.C.L. activity, in education, propaganda work, and in uniting and leading youth in action on the issues facing them.

These activities included the young builders' campaign, in which *Challenge* played such a notable role, and the movement of apprentice engineers, as well as increased activity among other sections of young workers; the Y.C.L. played a leading part in developing the actions of young couples for homes, campaigns for playing fields, and the fight against fascism; and in London an outstanding part in the fight to end

the ban on marches, for which the London Y.C.L. was congratulated by the London District Committee of the Party.

The Y.C.L. in many areas played an effective role in the elections in helping the Party and in winning support among young people.

The campaigns for the reduction of the length of military service to twelve months and the ending of the war in Malaya has gained good support, as have the campaigns of solidarity with the Greek and colonial youth. Practical support in the form of food parcels has been given to the families of striking French miners, and collections made for the Canadian seamen on strike in Britain.

An outstanding event in the international youth movement was the Eleventh Congress of the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League, held in Moscow in March and April 1949, at which the Y.C.L. was represented by its National Secretary, Bill Brooks.

The fact that many hundreds of British young people will be attending the World Youth Festival at Budapest is an indication of the growing movement for peace, in which the Y.C.L. is playing a full part.

The campaign against the harsh sentences passed on nine London Y.C.L. ex-Servicemen who protested at American war plans on May Day has received wide support, and by July 1 over £200 had already been collected for their dependents.

The developments that have taken place are largely due to the assistance given by the Party at all levels, especially the allocation of cadres.

The Y.C.L. is still weak in some major Districts and industries, and there are many Party branches with no corresponding Y.C.L. branch—a situation that must now be rapidly overcome.

Publications

For Peace and Socialism	3d.
Save Britain from War (folder)	1d.
Build the Y.C.L. for Peace and Socialism	6d.
Say "No" to Military Service (leaflet)	

8. THE "DAILY WORKER"

The big development of the *Daily Worker* has been carried through, and from November 1, 1948, our paper has been published from its new premises at 75 Farringdon Road.

For the first time our movement has had at its disposal a full-size newspaper, produced from a really modern newspaper plant, with a technique which bears comparison with the best.

It was found necessary to fix the price of the new paper at 1½d. Despite this we not merely held our circulation but registered a substantial increase. Though the whole of the increase has not been maintained, circulation remains substantially higher than has been previously reached and held for any considerable period.

The building and plant—which are acknowledged to be among the finest owned by a working-class paper in the capitalist world—have a capacity of well over 500,000 copies per day. Every member will realise the need for using this magnificent equipment to the full.

In February 1949, only three short months after the new paper appeared, it sustained a heavy blow by the sudden death of its Editor, Bill Rust. Comrade Rust, who had been actively associated with the *Daily Worker* from its birth in 1930, had been the inspirer and leader of its development plans and the new paper is his lasting monument. It has been decided to name the new building "William Rust House", in his honour.

J. R. Campbell, who had been Assistant Editor for many years, took over the Editorship, and John Gollan was appointed Assistant Editor. Under its new leadership the paper has fully maintained the high standards set by Comrade Rust.

The new paper was made possible by the consistent success achieved with the *Daily Worker* Co-operative, the People's Press Printing Society Ltd. The Society's membership has grown to 30,000, including over 700 trade union, co-operative, and other working-class organisations. Its capital resources now total a quarter of a million pounds.

The *Daily Worker* and the Society have stood up splendidly to the vicious attacks made against them by the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders alike. These attacks are a tribute to the paper's growing influence and to the effectiveness of its fight for a Socialist solution to the developing crisis. The financial problems of the paper, however, have been increased by a virtual boycott by big commercial advertisers.

Readers and supporters rallied splendidly to this challenge, and the paper's Fighting Fund has achieved each month the increased target of £3,500, set when the new paper was published last November. It is noteworthy that the increase was attained by a large increase in the number of Fighting Fund contributors.

The building of circulation remains the key question. Increased readership means increased knowledge and understanding of the Communist viewpoint, which the *Daily Worker* so well advances. It also is the sure way to the solution of the paper's financial problems. An excellent job has been done by our Party in the building of weekend sales and the winning of regular readers. This work must be further strengthened.

The role of the *Daily Worker* grows more decisive with every sharpening of the political and economic situation, and we must put forward on its behalf the greatest effort of which our Party is capable.

9. NATIONAL FIGHTING AND DEVELOPMENT FUND

The National Fighting Fund, launched in October 1948, realised a total of £5,438 and was closed at the beginning of the year. It was re-opened at the end of March, and by the middle of June £362 had been received.

Comrade Isabel Brown has continued full-time work on a special donations drive in co-operation with the London District, and has also visited Scotland, West of England, and East Anglia.

During the period under review, she has had the co-operation of Comrade Gladys Draper, in succession to Comrade Maud Rogerson, who has now taken up work in another department.

10. PUBLICATIONS SINCE LAST CONGRESS

Pamphlets

The Future of Shipbuilding	3d.
The Fascist Threat to Britain	3d.
The Marshall Plan	3d.
<i>Communist Manifesto</i> , Centenary Edition	6d.
Communist Policy for the Theatre	2d.
For Britain Free and Independent	9d.
The Triumph of Communism	3d.
A Socialist Solution of the Crisis	3d.
The Battle of Ideas	6d.
Full Steam Ahead	3d.
20th Congress Resolutions and Procedure	3d.
How to Save Peace	3d.
Catholics and Communism	3d.
Which Way to Socialism?	3d.
Wages, Prices and Profits	3d.
The Miners' Next Step	3d.
How to Plan Local Elections	1/-
Trade Unionists—What Next?	3d.
Wages and Homes	3d.
The Story of the English Revolution	3d.
Corruption	3d.
Communism and Labour	1/-
Protection at Work	3d.
Facts and Figures for Local Elections	4d.
American Communists on Trial	6d.
Defend Trade Union Rights	6d.
The Great Film Lock-out	6d.
A Memorandum on Building	1/-
Higher Education	3/6
Those Russians	2d.
Communism and Liberty	2d.
Why the Slump?	2d.
The Communist Party	3d.
The Socialist Road for Britain	6d.

Folders

Office Workers' Programme for Progress	2d.
Gallacher's Challenge to Bevin	1d.
Czechoslovakia: The Facts	1d.
The Witch-Hunt: Gallacher's Speech	1d.
Piratin's Budget Speech, 1948	1d.
Where is Labour Going?	1d.
Palestine	2d.
Stop the War in Malaya	1d.
The Future of Local Government	3d.
Peace and Homes: Gallacher Speech	1d.
Gallacher Speech on Germany	1d.
Deakin Exposed	1d.
Tactics of Disruption	1d.
For Homes, Not Bombs	1d.

11. APPEALS COMMITTEE REPORT

12. OBITUARY

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JAMES SHIELDS, Secretary of the International Committee and Appeals Committee, who served on the Executive Committee and worked for the Party in an international capacity, died in April 1949.

WILLIAM ROWE, for six years secretary of the East Midlands District Committee of the Party, a member of the International Brigade and former Secretary of the International Brigade Association who for many years rendered the Party magnificent service as an organiser, died in December 1948.

REG BISHOP, Editor of *Russia Today*, a foundation member of the Party and comrade with years of service to working-class journalism, died in January 1948, and a few weeks before our 20th Congress DAVE and MINNIE RAMSAY, both foundation members of the Party who had a lifetime record of activity in the movement, especially in Scotland, died within a few weeks of each other during 1948.

GEORGE HALKETT, a foundation member of the Party, for many years a Communist Councillor on the Vale of Leven and Dumbartonshire County Councils and active in the unemployed movement, died in March 1949.

In this period we also lost CONNIE PAPWORTH, for many years a leading and active member of the Party in West London; JOHN GALLACHER of Paisley, active in the Clyde Workers movement and former cartoonist of *The Worker*, the organ of the Minority movement; MRS. DALGETTY of Dundee, and DAVE RINGER of Walthamstow, both foundation members of the Party with a lifelong record in their own localities; ALF PEACHEY and EMRYS LLEWELLYN, two comrades with long records of activity in the Communist Party and the trade unions in Hendon; MAIRE NORTON, who was for several years in charge of Press Department at the Party Centre; JOHN CAMPBELL who assisted John MacLean to found the Scottish Labour College in Ayrshire, was a lifelong trade unionist and staunch supporter of the Soviet Union and a firm friend of the Communist Party; LEW POVEY, the popular Gloucester District Secretary of the A.E.U.; and TOMMY LEADER, a leading South London trade unionist and active Party worker.

Statements of the Executive Committee

PROTEST AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN INDIA

APRIL 10, 1948.

Trade unionists and all friends of India in Britain have been shocked by the news of the mass arrest of Indian working-class leaders, including men like Mr. S. A. Dange, member of the Bombay Assembly and of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and President of the All India Trades Union Congress, and Mr. Mirajkar, Vice-President of the All India Trades Union Congress; the banning of the Communist Party in several provinces; the suppression of newspapers and the wave of repression launched by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments against the Indian working class.

The Communist Party in Britain, whose record of active support for the Indian people in their long struggle for national independence is known to all, protests at the shameful use by an Indian National Government of

all the repressive and arbitrary police methods that have for so long been associated with imperialist rule. All true friends of India are shocked that Congress Governments, including men who so long struggled against British oppression, have so cynically begun to employ these same repressive measures against the very people, trade unionists and Communist Party workers, who have played a leading part in the national struggle, and have suffered long terms of imprisonment and detention without trial under British rule.

In thus attacking the Communist Party, whose influence amongst the Indian working and peasant classes is undisputed, the Indian Government is launching an attack upon democracy and upon the working class as a whole. This attack can serve only the interests of Big Business which is becoming more and more closely linked up with, and dominated by, American and British monopoly capitalist concerns, thereby serving to weaken India's struggle for final freedom and perpetuating her subservience to the economic and political dictatorship of the American war machine.

In making this protest, the Communist Party, on behalf of all democrats and friends of India, demands that the Government of India drop this attack on the Indian working class; forbid the Provincial Governments to use these arbitrary ordinances and repressive police powers which were rightly condemned under foreign rule; release Dange and Mirajkar along with all other working-class leaders arrested, and restore to the people of India those civil and democratic liberties for which the Congress has always stood in the past.

We also urge that all organisations of the Labour movement and all democratic organisations immediately express their protest to the Government of India and open a wide campaign for the release of the working-class leaders and the ending of the present repression.

MAY DAY MANIFESTO

MAY 1, 1948.

Workers of Britain

May Day, 1948, is only the third May Day since the end of the war against fascism, in which millions perished, countless towns and villages, factories and farms were destroyed.

Yet today, when we in Britain have not yet recovered, criminal warmongers in the United States and Britain are threatening the world with a new and even more devastating war. Fascists and reactionaries of all kinds are being backed in Europe against the common people.

May Day, 1948, must unite all working people in a great mass movement to preserve peace and defend their living standards.

It is American imperialism which threatens War

The only danger of war today comes from American imperialism supported by British imperialism. It is building up huge armed forces and military bases in all parts of the world. Its leaders make provocative war speeches and grind out their war propaganda. The declared "enemy" is Socialist Russia and the workers of Europe. And alongside American imperialism in the anti-Soviet war campaign stand Churchill and the Tories, Attlee, Bevin and the right-wing Labour leaders.

No Socialist country threatens war or conducts war propaganda or

builds bases to surround the United States or Britain. The aims of Socialism are the aims of peace, not war.

America, in its drive to dominate the world for Wall Street's profit, in the first instance is out to compel Britain, France and Western Europe to fit in with its strategical aims. The Marshall Plan will not solve the serious problems before the British people. But by this plan, American Big Business is attempting to secure a stranglehold on the industry and trade of Britain and Western Europe in order to weld Britain and the countries of Western Europe into a war bloc against the workers of Europe, the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

Above all, it is Britain which is threatened

The cost of Marshall "aid" is the huge military expenditure which is paralysing Britain's economic recovery, threatening the social services, reducing living standards and keeping over 1½ million men in the Armed Forces and armaments industry. The combined cost of this policy is four times as great as the entire Marshall "aid" which is supposed to come to Britain.

As a result, Britain's economic plight steadily worsens, and more and more burdens are being put on the people. The Government is pressing forward its attacks on wages and standards by its policy of wage-freezing while prices and profits rise. No compulsion is used against the employers. The recent budget increased prices for the workers while the employers virtually got off free with a trifling levy, and profits are at record levels. Any pretence at economic planning is now abandoned. The export drive is now facing increasing difficulties. Unemployment is to grow during the year.

The threat of a new war, reductions in real wages, lower rations, restricted social services, unprecedented profits for the rich—this is the result of the American alliance.

In any future war, Britain would be an atom bomb base for the U.S.A., and the result would be untold devastation and destruction of human life for the British people. The British people above all need the preservation of peace.

Alliance with Toryism against the workers

The Bevin-Attlee alliance with America abroad is accompanied by a concealed coalition with Toryism at home. On Foreign and Home affairs the Government, the Tory leaders and the Federation of British Industries are at one. Workers striving for higher wages because of the cost of living, are denounced when their poverty compels them to strike. Trade unions, insisting on carrying out their duties to advance wages and standards are attacked. M.I.5 is used to attack the Communist Party after the witch-hunt in the trade unions proved a dismal failure. Now, amidst the plaudits of the Tory press, the Labour Executive has started an open war against the Labour left-wing.

The great British Labour movement, with its record of struggle, with its experiences of the treachery of MacDonald, Thomas and Snowden, will never permit these attacks on the living standards of the people. The workers will rally their forces for the defence of wages and living standards.

The British working class, staunch to the traditions of the *Jolly George*

and the Councils of Action to stop war on Russia in 1920, will never be a party to a war against Socialism waged for the American millionaires and British monopolists in 1948 or any other year.

The fight to defend wages and to defend peace demands the removal of the right-wing Labour leaders responsible for the policy which means suicide for Britain. It demands a new fighting Government based on the forces of the Left inside the Labour movement, with a militant mass movement behind it that insists on a working-class policy at home and abroad. Such a Government would take decisive action against the rich, institute control of economic life in the people's interests, solve the crisis, improve wages and living standards, develop relations with the Soviet Union and make Britain really free and independent.

With such a programme the basis could be laid for the rapid advance of the British people in the struggle for Socialism, the only lasting solution to their problems.

Advancing Socialism

In striking contrast with the policy of alliance with American Big Business intensifying Britain's problems, is the steady advance of Socialism.

Never was Socialism so strong as in this year—the centenary of the *Communist Manifesto*. On May Day, 1948, not only will the Red Flag fly still more proudly over the Socialist Soviet Union, now forging victoriously ahead, building up its mighty economic resources, achieving tempestuous advances in wages and social conditions. In Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the marching millions will celebrate real people's power.

Today in these countries the domination of the landlord, profiteer and reactionary is broken for ever. The main industries are nationalised and belong to the people. The land has been given to the peasants; wages, living standards and conditions are rapidly rising. Pre-war production has been surpassed, the new planned economies are forging ahead.

These triumphs are victories for the peoples of the world; they are victories for peace and the advance of the workers the world over.

In Italy, despite unprecedented American intervention and blackmail, the Italian Democratic Front has secured millions of votes. The great French working class stands firm, a bulwark against reaction in Europe. In Greece the armies of General Markos advance. The people's forces of China battle on inexorably to final victory. The colonial peoples of the East and of Africa, continue with increasing success their struggle for national independence. The new American Third Party challenges the parties of Big Business.

The forces of peace and democracy are immeasurably stronger than the forces of reaction and war. But to be effective they must unite and fight.

Workers of Britain

The Communist Party calls upon the entire Labour movement to unite and fight against the warmongers, against the attacks on the people's standards.

For Peace—For a Britain Really Free and Independent

End the subservient war alliance with America. Outlaw the atom

bomb. The extension of friendly diplomatic, and trading relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies. Withdraw British troops from Greece, Palestine and the Middle East. Cut the Armed Forces. Build up the strength of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

For the Defence of Living Standards

An end to wage-freezing. Rising wages to meet the rising cost of living. Cut prices and profits; an annual tax on Capital. End the military expenditure: spend more on houses, schools and hospitals. Nationalise the steel industry now. Introduce a National Economic Plan.

For a New Government of the Left

Develop the fight for peace and wages. Unite in every locality for an end to the capitulation to Big Business; the removal of the right-wing Labour leaders and a new Government of the Left forces within the Labour movement.

For Social Progress and Lasting Peace!

For Trade and Friendship with all Nations but Dependence on None!

For the Solidarity of the Workers of the World!

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!

BAN ON POLITICAL PROCESSIONS

MAY 8, 1948.

This Executive Committee protests in the strongest terms against the Home Secretary's ban on all political processions in London. This ban, which applies to an area of 700 square miles, embracing roughly a quarter of the total population of Britain, and is made on the instructions of a Labour Home Secretary, strikes at one of the most treasured rights of the Labour movement. It follows the tremendous London Trades Council May Day Demonstration, which was carried through in perfect order; and we would emphasise that all meetings organised by the Communist Party took place in the same orderly manner.

The reason given by the Home Secretary that "in view of the present depleted state of the police it is necessary to impose this prohibition" has to be seen alongside his admission that 297 foot police, 48 mounted police, 72 police in tenders, a wireless van, 214 motor cycle orderlies and 411 reserves were used to protect Mosley's meeting from the resentment of the workers. Mosley is to be permitted to continue holding these meetings with police protection, which will presumably be on a similar or even greater scale.

It is monstrous that this blatant political discrimination against the working class should be applied while this enemy of the working-class movement, Mosley, is given police protection for his poisonous anti-working-class, anti-Semitic provocations.

We demand that all Fascist meetings and activities be banned and that the workers' rights to march in the streets of London be restored forthwith. We ask the whole working-class movement and all progressive forces in the country to press these demands on the Government.

GREECE

MAY 8, 1948.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party calls upon the Government to intervene immediately to stop the execution of 1,000 Greek democrats by the Royalist Government in Athens.

It records its horror and loathing at the execution of the 154 democrats imprisoned since 1944, whose only crime was their fight for Greek liberty and independence.

These mass executions expose the so-called Greek Government still further as a naked fascist dictatorship.

Resolute British intervention now can stop further executions.

The National Executive calls upon the entire Labour, trade union and Co-operative movement and every section of British democratic opinion to intervene in the most urgent fashion to record its detestation to the Greek Embassy in London, and to demand of the Prime Minister that the British Government acts immediately to stop the further executions.

PALESTINE

MAY 21, 1948.

The sidetracking of any discussion or decision on the British-sponsored war in Palestine at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough is a shameful betrayal.

The Communist Party expresses its gravest concern at the present war in Palestine.

We send our warmest greetings to the new Jewish State of Israel, whose foundation is a big step forward towards fulfilment of self-determination of the peoples of Palestine. We are confident that the establishment and co-operation of free and independent Jewish and Arab States in Palestine, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations, is the only path to the solution of the problems of the peoples of Palestine corresponding to the interests of democracy and peace.

The present military conflict in Palestine is the direct consequence of imperialist policy. Both American and British policy bear the responsibility for sabotaging the United Nations' decision for the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab States, and seeking to carry forward imperialist domination in new forms for the protection of the oil and strategic interests of imperialism.

The heaviest responsibility for the present military operations rests with the British Labour Government, which has armed, equipped, subsidised and coddled the armies of the reactionary Princes and puppets of the Arab League, which operates under British control. Britain has so far refused to recognise the new Jewish State. The British representative on the United Nations Security Council has blocked the proposal to recognise the war in Palestine as a threat to peace.

This reactionary war conducted by the chieftains of the Arab League under British control is entirely against the interests of the Arab masses, who in all the countries of the Middle East are striving for freedom from imperialist domination, as seen in the popular movements of revolt in Iraq and Egypt. The interests of the Arab peoples lie in co-operation with the new Jewish State against imperialism for freedom and peace throughout the Middle East.

We greet the strivings of both Jewish and Arab Communists, in association with all progressive forces in the Middle East, to resist all reactionary racial tendencies or capitulation to imperialism, and to secure a settlement on the basis of equal freedom of Jews and Arabs, peace and co-operation in the Middle East.

The most urgent responsibility now rests on the British people to end the present criminal policy which is responsible for fomenting war in Palestine. We demand:

1. Immediate recognition of the Jewish State of Israel.
2. Cessation of all supplies of arms and subsidies to the Arab States.
3. Speeding up of complete British military withdrawal.
4. Full support of United Nations Security Council measures, in accordance with the American-Soviet resolution, to bring about the immediate suspension of hostilities.
5. Full support of the United Nations decision for the establishment and recognition of sovereign and independent Jewish and Arab States in Palestine.

The most urgent campaign needs to be conducted by the entire Labour movement and by all supporters of democracy and peace for the fulfilment of these demands.

A PLAN TO PARTITION GERMANY AND EUROPE

JUNE 15, 1948.

The London Conference plan on Germany is a betrayal of every aim for which the war was fought.

This plan to set up a reactionary West German State violates the agreements and undertakings accepted by the allies at the end of the war. It is an open breach of Four-Power co-operation. It is a plan to partition Germany and to partition Europe. It is the direct negation of repeated Soviet proposals for a united, democratic Germany. It is a further step in the preparations for war.

The economic aim of the American monopolists, with the aid of their British satellites, is to rebuild the Ruhr industrial base under American control for the domination of Europe. This is the same aim which was pursued already between the wars through the Dawes Plan and Anglo-American loans to Germany, and which prepared the way for Hitler and the Second World War. In place of the socialisation of the Ruhr industries, under a real international Four-Power control, the Ruhr industries are to be left in the hands of the same trusts and combines which backed Hitler, and which are now closely linked up with American big business. The so-called international control is a transparent fiction, since decisive voting power is placed in the hands of the Anglo-American monopolists and their German monopolist partners to over-ride the Western States, France and Benelux, which are most directly threatened by the revival of German industrial domination and future aggression.

The political, military and strategic aims of this plan are directed to preventing the democratic rebirth and unification of Germany, and to rebuilding reaction in Western Germany as the base for the aggressive aims of the American-controlled Western military bloc and for future war.

This plan is contrary to the interests of every European nation, including the German people themselves.

French alarm and opposition have been voiced by all political sections, and open intervention has been conducted by Labour Party representatives in association with the French Socialists for the latter to act as willing stooges for this betrayal of French national interests.

The revival of German reaction and of German monopolist industry under American control is a threat to every European nation east and west of Germany, and a preparation for war. It is a most direct threat to British recovery and the British people.

The Communist Party calls on the British Labour movement and the British people to repudiate this plan of Anglo-American high finance, and to unite their endeavours with the French and German peoples and with all European peoples for a democratic settlement of Germany in accordance with the principles agreed at Potsdam, and, on the basis of Four Power agreement, for signing of a Peace Treaty with a united democratic Germany as the only foundation for peace in Europe.

RESOLUTION ON YUGOSLAVIA OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

JULY 1948.

The political committee of the Communist Party of Britain having considered the resolution of the Conference of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties on the state of affairs in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, unanimously approves of the resolution which was adopted by the Conference.

It is confident that the rank and file membership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will correct the errors of its leadership and will respond to the suggestions of brother Communist Parties to make all the necessary changes for the fulfilment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the policy and practice of the Yugoslav Party.

AFRICA

JULY 10, 1948.

The Communist Party sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the peoples of the African continent in their struggle for better standards of living, for democracy and the right to self-determination. We condemn alike the Smuts-Malan policies of repression, the increasing drive of the East African white settlers against the African people, and the British Government policy of allowing the shooting down of those who dare to demand their just economic rights. The electoral victory of Malan in South Africa shows the increasing danger of the offensive of the most extreme reaction and racial repression.

Today, Africa plays a special part in the war plans of world reaction. For the countries of Western Union she now represents a main source of raw materials and of military manpower and a key centre for the development of military bases in the global war strategy. The U.S.A., through the Marshall Plan and through direct capital investment, aims also to gain control of strategic raw materials and of the new industrial military base of South Africa.

Britain is spending millions of pounds on the development of strategic communications, on great military bases in East Africa and air bases in the West. At the same time, so-called "development schemes" are introduced in a vain attempt to find a capitalist solution to Britain's economic crisis—schemes which bring benefit neither to British nor African peoples, but only mean increased and guaranteed profits for the great monopolies.

Thus the threat of war is intensified, the development of a balanced

system of trade between Britain and Africa becomes increasingly difficult, and the dominating position of the great monopolies is strengthened.

The Labour Government, in spite of its claims to represent a policy of democracy, continues the methods of British imperialist dictatorship over the peoples of Africa. The most elementary democratic rights—equal right to vote for a representative in the Legislature, the control by the Legislature of the Executive—are denied to tens of millions of Africans.

The Communist Party calls upon all sections of the Labour movement to end this shameful situation, and to compel the Labour Government to apply immediately the following measures of all African territories under its control:

1. The abolition of all discriminatory legislation, such as Pass Laws, Poll Tax, etc., in all African territory; full rights of assembly and association, and freedom of the Press and of movement for every African.

2. The ending of British dictatorship in Africa; full democratic self-government for all African peoples, based on Parliaments elected by universal suffrage, which shall appoint and control the Executive; the abolition of the Governor's veto; local authorities based on similar democratic principles.

3. Withdrawal of British armed forces and police; the elected Parliaments to determine what forces are necessary for the maintenance of order, to be officered and manned by Africans.

4. The rapid replacement of European administrative personnel by Africans, as determined by the elected Parliaments.

5. Financial and other assistance, if required, to be given by the British Government to the African Governments for the rapid development of industries under African control, as well as of housing, health and other social services, in accordance with plans drafted and approved by the African Parliaments.

Only by taking such steps as these can we safeguard the interests of both African and British peoples and world peace. The most urgent responsibility rests on all organisations of the British Labour, trade union and Co-operative movements to campaign for these measures, to give practical help to the African popular organisations, and to build up close associations and friendship between the African and British peoples for the common aims of freedom and peace.

STOP THE WAR IN MALAYA

AUGUST 19, 1948.

The Communist Party appeals to every section of the Labour movement to protest against the war in Malaya and demand an immediate ending of this barbarous colonial war.

The Malayan people are fighting for their democratic rights and national freedom. They are fighting under the same leadership which led their struggle against the Japanese occupation. They are fighting against a régime of suppression which has betrayed every promise of freedom and self-government made to them at the end of the war.

The bombing of villages; the killing of men and women and children; arrests of thousands; the suppression of democratic and trade-union organisations and suppression of all civil rights; the use of Dyak head-

hunters against Malayan and Chinese people—all these represent the methods of barbarity and frightfulness to suppress the struggle of a people battling for their freedom.

It is shameful that the Spitfires and Beaufighters which the workers of Britain constructed for the war against fascism should be used to murder their fellow trade unionists and fellow fighters in the war of liberation.

More and more troops are being concentrated in Malaya and sent out from this country to Malaya. The military authorities openly calculate that the war may be expected to last for years.

Do the British workers realise what this will mean in added burdens to this country, and in the sacrifice of British lives, as well as in the sufferings inflicted on the Malayan people?

The British workers' lives are to be sacrificed for the interests of the tin and rubber exploiters.

If this war had been carried out by a Tory Government, the whole country would be resounding with the protests from the Labour movement. The Labour movement has again and again proclaimed its stand for the right of independence of all colonial peoples. The sacred duty to stand by the Malayan people and exert our pressure to end the war is all the greater when this war is being conducted by a Government that acts in the name of the Labour movement in this country.

We call on the workers of Britain to refuse to handle munitions or transport troops for war on the Malayan people.

Hands off Malaya.

Withdraw the troops from Malaya.

No transport of munitions or men for war on Malaya.

End the colonial war in Malaya.

Independence for the people of Malaya.

SMASH THE ATTACK ON LIVING STANDARDS

SEPTEMBER 20, 1948.

A grave situation faces the British people. War preparations are being speeded up. The Armed Forces are being expanded. The slow-down in demobilisation is the prelude to lengthened conscription. Fighter production is to be doubled, armaments increased. A large-scale colonial war has begun in Malaya. Labour and Tory leaders are to join in stumping the country to appeal for recruits for a war of Big Business against the land of Socialism—the U.S.S.R.—and the Peoples' Democracies of Europe.

It is for this policy that an all-out offensive has been opened against the living standards of the British workers, and Cripps calls for more production and more sacrifices, while prices and profits rise and America tightens its grip on British industry and trade.

Full-blooded defence of the interests of the monopolists—this is the policy of the Labour Government. It must be challenged, fought and defeated by working-class action.

Deception

For over a year Government spokesmen have been saying that we must reduce imports and increase exports, tighten our belts, suffer austerity

and frozen wages, but that everything would be all right in the end. They have claimed that there will be full employment for years ahead, and if only we increased production we would pull through. Sacrifices have been made, production increased. The result shows that this propaganda has been criminal deception. We have produced more, and we are worse off.

The Government's wage-freeze policy has resulted in applications for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living being met with refusal or offers of a paltry few shillings. More and more working-class families are unable to buy the shoes, clothes and household goods they need. Stocks are rising in the shops. Rationing by the purse is replacing rationing by coupons for the working class. The Federation of British Industries, the Government and the Press are on the offensive for still lower real wages, longer hours and harder work, while Tillings shareholders get £6 5s. 0d. compensation for a £1 share, and profits reach record heights.

Government Responsibility

The responsibility for this position must be laid squarely at the door of the Labour Government. The war has revealed the bankruptcy of British imperialism, the breakdown of British capitalist monopoly. Instead of a Socialist class policy to meet this and improve conditions for the workers, from the start the Labour Government has pursued a policy directed to rebuild imperialism abroad and serve big monopoly interests at home.

The burdens of this policy have been placed on the shoulders of the workers, while the rich go scot free. The working class was told that salvation lay in self-denial and increased exports. This was the key point in the Government's programme. But just as Britain was cutting imports and driving to increase exports, so every country in Western Europe was doing likewise. As a result the Government's export drive is running into increasing difficulties. Unsold export goods are piling up at the same time as stocks are rising in the shops because workers cannot buy at home.

The phase of cut-throat competition for the export market is now opening. This is the significance of the Cripps speech to the T.U.C. and the campaign of the employers. The call for more production for export has now become "Export Costs Must Come Down". The attack on living standards is now in full swing. Harder work, longer hours, lower real wages—this is the prospect Cripps offers the workers.

At the root of the sacrifices now being imposed on the workers lies the imperialist policy of the Government, the drive to "solve" Britain's problems by intensified exploitation of the colonial peoples, the outcome of which is the barbarous war in Malaya. Of a deficit of £1,320 million in three years, £745 million has been due to military expenditure abroad. British workers have been forced to go short, and expenditure on housing, schools, and hospitals has been cut, not for recovery, but to pay for colonial repression and British capitalist investments abroad.

American Control

It is this policy which has led directly to dependence on the U.S.A. The Marshall Plan will not help to solve Britain's or Europe's problems. On the contrary, the so-called "aid" has been used by America to obtain

financial and economic control of Britain, to stop Britain's natural developing trade links with Russia and Eastern Europe, to force Britain into a European payments scheme which means free British exports to Europe equal in value to almost half of the dollar aid, and to get American access to the colonial markets. Above all, it means still more crippling military expenditure in the interests of the American drive against the Socialist Soviet Union and the European countries advancing to Socialism.

Where is all this leading? The more real wages are reduced and prices and profits rise, the more goods will pile up in the shops, creating redundancy in the factories. The cuts on housing, schools, and hospitals will bring increased unemployment. The export drive will run into greater and greater difficulties which the Marshall Plan to rebuild the powerful competition of Germany and Japan will make worse. The increased military expenditure will still further intensify every difficulty.

The criminal policy of the Government has already undermined the basis of full employment. All the factors are maturing for crisis, unemployment, and economic slump in Britain, just as America is careering headlong into a crisis. This, not full employment, is the inevitable result of the Government's policy.

It is on this background that trade unionists must consider the call for more production, harder work, and longer hours. Increased production during the past year, while bringing increased profits for the bosses, has meant lower standards for the workers. Without a change in general policy, further increases in production will neither solve the problems of the British people nor raise the living standards of the workers. In addition, increased production today will mean overproduction tomorrow. The task of the Trade Union movement is not that of class collaboration with the Federation of British Industries to speed up the workers but to carry out their historic function of struggle against the employers for higher wages.

The Communist Party's call to the British working class is therefore: Now is the time to go over to the offensive, for higher wages, for the defence of living standards, for the cutting of profits, for a policy to solve the crisis in the interests of the people.

The Government's wage freeze must be ended. Engineers and railwaymen have given a lead. The duty of the trade unions is to take offensive action to raise wages all round. The fight for higher wages is not only a class duty, but vital to combat the unemployment now threatened.

Rents must not be increased. Let the tenants develop their fighting movement still further against rising rents.

Increased pensions and unemployed benefit. Let the old-age pensioners, the war disabled, the unemployed, press still more their just claims to meet the rising cost of living.

Cut the taxes on the people—increase the taxes on the rich. The entire Labour, Co-operative, and Trade Union movement should redouble its fight to end the purchase tax and the food taxes, increase the profits tax, and introduce a capital levy now.

End the cuts in housing and social services. The homeless and the overcrowded must act now to fight for a programme of at least 300,000 houses in 1948. People in every locality must fight for building the health centres, new schools, and hospitals now.

Speed up demobilisation, cut the military expenditure. The mighty Labour movement must assert its strength and stop the war in Malaya. Withdraw the British troops. Freedom for the colonial peoples.

Curb the monopolies—emergency economic action. Demand the control of the monopolies, end their restrictive practices. Nationalise steel at once. Purge the Nationalisation Boards of the representatives of the monopolies. End the capital cuts, and start to re-equip vital industries.

Increase Britain's home-produced food. A minimum of £5 10s. a week for agricultural workers. End the tied-cottage system, speed up housing in the countryside.

Friendship with Russia. Fight against the policy of hostility and preparations for war against Socialist Russia. Insist on friendship and trading agreements which will help to end dependence on America, and keep Britain's factories busy.

End dependence on America—smash the Marshall chains. End the stranglehold of the Marshall Plan on Britain's industry and trade. End the policy of the Western capitalist war bloc against Socialist Russia. End the policy of building up Western Germany under the Nazi industrialists.

The offensive of the Government, the employers, and the Tories against the living standards of the British workers must be smashed.

The policy that is bringing disaster at home and abroad must be defeated.

Loyalty to the present and future interests of the working class demands united action!

**For the Executive Committee of the Communist Party,
HARRY POLLITT, General Secretary.**

THE "DAILY WORKER"

NOVEMBER 13, 1948.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party enthusiastically welcomes the advent of the new, larger and improved *Daily Worker*.

It is of great importance at this critical stage for the working people of Britain, when the defence of peace and their living standards have become so urgent, that such a powerful weapon as the new *Daily Worker* should be at the people's service.

The Executive Committee congratulates all those who, by contributing to the Fighting Fund and the Share Capital of the paper, as well as maintaining and extending the circulation, have enabled the new paper to be produced in a fine building with new and up-to-date machinery.

In particular we want to record our appreciation of the efforts of every member of the *Daily Worker* staff, because we fully appreciate the amount of hard work, personal loyalty to the paper and the cause, and in many cases, considerable sacrifice which has enabled the change-over to be carried through so expeditiously and, overcoming all hitches, improve the standard of production in the process.

Thank you, comrades

For our part we pledge that we will do all possible to mobilise the whole of our Party to redouble our efforts behind the paper so that in January, when the restrictions are removed, we will secure a great increase in the circulation of the only working-class daily newspaper in Britain.

SPAIN

NOVEMBER 13, 1948.

This Executive Committee warns the British people of the grave danger of peace which the policy of the British and American Governments, with the help of Franco, is creating in Spain.

A secret military agreement exists between the U.S. General Staff and Franco which, in view of the existing Joint Anglo-American General Staff, must involve this country as well.

This agreement is directed not only against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies of Eastern Europe, but against the democratic forces of France and Western Europe.

The British Government is developing its trade with Franco and discussing steps to make available to him increased amounts of sterling, while British representatives by their votes support Franco at U.N.O.

At the same time it is carrying on intrigues with the monarchists and right-wing Socialist traitors for an "alternative" Government which it is holding in readiness in case circumstances require it.

All the time Franco is continuing and extending the terror against the Spanish people which, by its guerilla movement, strikes, and demonstrations, is struggling against conditions of appalling misery to get rid of Franco.

In one single week Franco's courts have sentenced another thirteen people to death. Five have been given death sentences at Corunna, and eight of the eighty in the mass trial at Barcelona. Others received sentences of thirty years' and twenty years' imprisonment. Jose Satue Malo, General Secretary of the Radio Telegraphists Union, is lying under sentence of death, as are others at Ocana and elsewhere. During September and October news has come out of Spain that another ten peasants have been shot under the so-called "ley de fugas" (law of flight): mass arrests and tortures are increasing as the movement against Franco develops.

In view of his decision to carry through fake municipal elections during November 27 to 28 and December 5, the terror is being intensified.

We protest and call upon all progressive sections in Britain to protest against the terror, and to demand the lives of those under sentence of death be spared. We demand the breaking off by the British Government of all diplomatic, economic, and financial relations with Franco.

The salvation of the Spanish people lies in a Republican regime, truly democratic, which leads the people away from the road to war, which employs and directs all its popular energy in the peaceful reconstruction of the country, which guarantees the people a life of peace, democracy, well-being and tranquility.

•Such a regime can only be guaranteed by the active fight and leadership of all democratic and anti-Franco forces of the working class, including the Communist Party, which today is playing a heroic part in the vanguard of the fight for national independence.

We pledge the active support of our Party behind the struggle of the Spanish people inside and outside of Spain.

We call on every Party member and organisation to do everything possible to secure the objectives set out in this resolution; in particular to give all support to the activities planned for Spain Week (December

1-8); to endeavour to secure a wide circulation for *Spain Today*, the organ of the International Brigade Association; to make the facts about Spain widely known in the Labour movement, so that the great popular support and sympathy for the Spanish people which in Britain has existed ever since the 1936 days will culminate in the victory of the people and the re-establishment of the Republic.

INDONESIA

The Communist Party of Britain demands an end to the campaign of terror and murder against Indonesian Communists and progressives launched by the Hatta Government at American inspiration since the beginning of September.

It declares that Mr. Hatta will be held responsible by world public opinion for the safety of leading Communists and others in his prisons, and demands their immediate release.

We call upon the British people to give every support to the Indonesian people in their struggle against American, British, and Dutch imperialism.

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

JANUARY 15, 1949.

The Communist Party condemns the provocative military policy which is being pursued by the British Government in the Middle East. This policy has now resulted in new British victims, with the shooting down of British airmen. The sending of troops to Akaba and despatch of planes to fly across the Egyptian frontier and over the Israel forces was an act of unjustifiable military intervention which has resulted in this tragic outcome.

World opinion in all countries has condemned this military intervention. The despatch of British planes was not authorised by the United Nations. The Government is carrying through this policy in complete disregard of the United Nations decisions. It does not correspond to the interests of the peoples of the Middle East, who have in the past, and still are constantly demanding the withdrawal of British troops from their territories.

The rival policies and intrigues of British and American imperialism are destroying the possibilities of peace in the Middle East, which is desired by Jew, Arab, and Egyptian alike. Oil interests and strategic considerations take precedence over the establishment of peace. The recent provocative actions by Britain are aimed at preventing the negotiations between Israel and Egypt succeeding; to create an incident for the British puppet, Abdullah, to utilise to call in British troops.

The Communist Party demands the recognition of Israel and the full implementation of the decisions of the United Nations Assembly to set up Jewish and Arab States in Palestine. We call for the evacuation of British troops from the Middle East.

Only with the cessation of interference by Britain and the United States will the peoples of the Middle East be able to reach understanding and live in peace.

THE RUHR AGREEMENT

JANUARY 15, 1949.

The new Six-Power Agreement on the Ruhr represents a direct menace to all the peoples of Western Europe and to world peace.

It is a gross repudiation of every agreement and obligation accepted by this country at the end of the war with regard to Germany. It places the gigantic industrial and potential military machine of the Ruhr under the control of a Board which is dominated by the United States monopolists. It prepares the way for the revival of the iron and steel barons of Western Germany who placed Hitler in power. It prepares the way for the rebuilding of the arsenal of the Ruhr which has already served to let loose two world wars. The Ruhr Agreement is a part of the war plans of the Anglo-American bloc and of the aims of American imperialism for the domination of Western Europe.

The Ruhr was already before the war the third greatest world centre of steel production and heavy industry. Despite war destruction, three-quarters of its capacity was intact at the end of the war. If the new Ruhr Agreement is carried through, its steel production could rapidly reach an annual level of 19 million tons, as before the war, contrasting with the British target of 17 million tons by 1952. Such a revival of the base of heavy industry concentrated in the Ruhr would again be used to dominate all Western and Central Europe and prepare future war.

The Ruhr especially threatens Britain. The export programme set for Western Germany is aimed to multiply exports sixteen times over in the next four years. The export target is set at 60 per cent above pre-war as against the British target of 50 per cent above pre-war. This aim to reach a commanding position in the European world market and undercut British exports is based on the extreme exploitation of the German workers, with wage rates heavily below the British level. The funds of the unions and savings of the people have been wiped out by currency reform.

This policy of the American and German monopolists, in association with their partners in Britain, to exploit low wage conditions in Western Germany is a menace to wages and living standards in Britain, and, if carried through, will mean redundancy and unemployment in British shipyards and factories.

The fight of all progressive sections of the German people against the Ruhr Plan and against the partition of Germany is united with the fight of the British people for the protection of their living conditions and for peace. Only a united democratic Germany with Four-Power control of the Ruhr, as laid down in the Potsdam Agreement, can ensure the interests of peace and of European economic recovery. The Communist Party calls for the widest campaign to reverse the Ruhr Agreement and the partition of Germany, and to return to the basis of Four-Power co-operation in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement for a united, democratic, peaceful Germany.

MAY DAY MANIFESTO

MAY 1, 1949

For sixty years on the First of May the workers of the world have demonstrated their international solidarity in the struggle against capitalism and war, and for their own aims of Peace and Socialism.

BILL RUST

Our Party and the whole working-class movement will learn with a shock and the deepest grief of the sudden and untimely death of our beloved comrade, William Rust, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, and the Editor of the "Daily Worker".

Over more than three decades Comrade Rust has from his earliest youth given his life service to the cause of Socialism and the working class. As a trade unionist from the age of sixteen years, as a foundation member of the Communist Party, as Secretary of the Young Communist League, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party since 1927, as District Organiser of the Communist Party in Lancashire, as "Daily Worker" representative, and active associate with the British Battalion of the International Brigade in Spain, and as the first editor of the "Daily Worker" from 1930, during the war years, and in its great post-war advance to which his tireless initiative, energy, and leadership contributed so much, he has played a leading historical part in the growth of the Communist movement in Britain.

His political insight, his practical organising ability, his courage, confidence, and enthusiasm have inspired countless people in all parts of Britain; and he was known and honoured in all sections of the International Communist movement. He died in harness. The fatal shock overtook him in the midst of the Political Committee as we were met together.

In this hour of cruel loss, we express the deepest sympathy of our Party to Comrade Tamara Rust and to his relatives.

With heavy heart we pay the last honour to our comrade and pledge ourselves to carry forward the fight in whose service he spent his life.

The "Daily Worker" is an imperishable monument of Comrade Rust's life work.

Let the response of all comrades to raise ever higher the banner of the "Daily Worker" and the Communist Party show the deep love William Rust has won in our hearts.

On May Day, 1949, the British working class, in common with their comrades the world over, will demonstrate more strongly their intention of defending their living standards and peace against the attacks of the employers, the Tories and the Labour Government.

The colossal burden of £760 million this year for war and war preparations is being paid for by wage-freezing, higher prices and profits, dearer food, fewer houses, schools and hospitals, slashing of social benefits, speed-up in industry, growing insecurity and inevitable slump. Two days after the signing of the Atlantic Pact, Cripps presented part of the bill the workers

have to pay in the shape of dearer butter, margarine, cheese and matches—his war budget of monopoly capitalism.

Uncertainty about the future prospects of employment in our basic industries—shipbuilding, engineering, cotton, coal and steel—is now uppermost in the mind of every worker on the Clyde, Tyne and Merseyside, in the North-West, Lancashire, Wales, Yorkshire, Midlands, and London.

We denounce and reject the Atlantic War Pact of aggression which aims to make Britain the new Malta in a third world war. Together with Franco Spain, we are chosen as a war base. The Yankee occupying forces are already quartered in our midst, occupying new buildings and houses, while British workers are without homes and live in conditions of appalling overcrowding.

But the workers are beginning to challenge the whole policy of the Tories and Labour Government with their traditional courage.

The strikes for higher wages, against the speed-up and unemployment, the demonstrations against efforts at revival of the fascist movement, and the response to the Paris Peace Conference are the beginnings of a struggle which will grow and develop.

In the fight for peace, we are inspired by the example of the most devoted of all workers for peace, the peoples of the Soviet Union—the land of Socialism. Free Socialist society detests and loathes war. The people there need only peace to achieve the speedy building of a new Communist society. There are no rich people there to make millions out of death and suffering.

The Soviet people now building up Communism, and the countries of Peoples' Democracy, who are laying the firm foundations for Socialism, clearly desire peace so that they may even more rapidly raise their standard of life, advance their culture and safeguard the future.

The Communist Party calls upon the whole working class and all who sympathise with its aims to make the First of May demonstrations the greatest that Britain has ever seen.

Workers of Britain

Fight for increased wages, reduce the price of food and clothing; lower rents; build more homes, schools and hospitals.

Build up 100 per cent trade unionism and workshop organisation, with full democratic rights inside the trade unions.

Stop the witch-hunt and the purge.

Strengthen international trade union unity through the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Fight to restore the right of the workers to march on the streets; ban the fascists. All out on May Day.

Working Men and Women, Young People, and all who Stand for Freedom

Unite your ranks; boldly declare your will for peace; demand an immediate drastic reduction in the amount spent on the armed forces; bring our young men home from Greece, Malaya and the Middle East. Cut the numbers in the forces by half; reduce the term of service to twelve months. Send the American troops back from Britain and let us regain our own independence.

Reject the Atlantic Pact, the Brussels Pact, and all aggressive measures of the Anglo-American warmongers.

Strengthen the United Nations Organisation, re-affirm our adherence to the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, fight for trade with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Peoples' Democracy.

Remember that the forces of peace and progress are stronger than the forces of war. March for peace alongside the mighty Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, with the Liberation Movement of China, Malaya, Greece, Indonesia, Viet Nam and the Spanish guerillas, together with the toiling millions of Burma, India and Africa, in fraternal brotherhood and solidarity with the French and Italian working classes—with the masses everywhere.

Working People and Progressives Everywhere

On this historic occasion, we, the workers of Britain, stretch out our hands to clasp in solidarity those of our class brothers in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. From the bottom of our hearts we repeat the great inspiring message of May Day:

**FOR PEACE, PROSPERITY AND SOCIALISM
WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!**

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS

The results of the local elections are a serious danger signal to the whole Labour movement.

Four years after the British people repudiated Toryism, with its shameful record, the same Tory representatives of wealth and privilege are able to advance and regain lost ground.

Why have the Tories been able to register these gains?

Only because the policy of the Labour Government and of the right-wing Labour leadership has played into their hands.

These Tory gains are the price of the policy of Attlee, Bevin, Morrison, and Cripps. Right-wing Labour has imposed burdens on the people and increased food prices in order to pay for rearmament and Churchill's foreign policy. Right-wing Labour has protected the rising profits of the monopolists while imposing the wage freeze on the workers. Right-wing Labour has directed its main offensive, not against the Tories, but against the Communists and the Left. Red-baiting, the witch-hunt, and the purge, conducted amid Tory cheers, have once again, as always, led to electoral defeat.

The menacing experience of the two previous Labour Governments is in danger of being repeated. Then also Macdonald's right-wing policies of subservience to the big monopolists and anti-Communist, anti-Soviet hostility led to Tory electoral victories and long and disastrous periods of Tory rule.

Nineteen thirty-one must never be allowed to happen again. The entire Labour movement must rally to end the right-wing policies which lead to defeat. Toryism can only be defeated if Tory policy in the Labour movement is ended. The local elections have shown that some sections of Labour supporters, as a result of the policy of the Government and the right-wing, have abstained from voting. But abstention only plays into

the hands of the Tories. Disillusionment with the Government's policy must be translated into a positive practical fight for an alternative.

This is the lasting significance of the Communist Party's fight in the elections. In the face of an unexampled barrage from both the official parties and the entire Press, the Communist Party has fought on a wider scale than at any previous election. This fight, putting forward an alternative policy to that of the Tories and the right-wing Labour leaders, has laid the basis for future victories, as more and more workers come to understand through experience the correctness of the policies for which the Communist Party fights.

In these few remaining months before the critical coming General Election, the lessons of the local elections must be learned and made the basis for action. It is essential to carry through the fight for a change of policy throughout the Labour movement. End the right-wing policies of disruption. End the right-wing policies of surrender to Toryism. End the war policy and the hostility to the Socialist Soviet Union.

Only a return to a working-class Socialist programme and unity of all workers, Communist and non-Communist alike, can ensure the defeat of Toryism in 1950. It is with these aims that the Communist Party will put forward 100 candidates in the General Election, and will fight in common with all progressives in the trade unions, co-operatives, and Labour Party, as the only way to reverse the result of these local elections and guarantee the rout of Toryism.

THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

JULY 1, 1949.

A growing danger of economic slump and mass unemployment faces the people of Britain.

The flare-up of the antagonisms between Britain and America over the issue of European payments, and the ruthless pressure exerted by the Americans for an arrangement which would severely diminish Britain's gold and dollar reserves, are the result of the slump which is rapidly developing in the United States and throughout the entire capitalist world.

The Communist Party declares that this coming slump, with all that it would mean in misery and poverty for our people, can only be averted by the working-class fight against capitalism and capitalist policies, which are leading now, as they have always led in the past, to economic chaos and mass unemployment.

In September 1948 we warned that:

All the factors are maturing for crisis, unemployment and economic slump in Britain, just as America is careering headlong into a crisis. This, not full employment, is the inevitable result of the Government's policy.

If this policy which we outlined then and which we have fought for ever since the Labour Government came to power, had been put into effect, there would be no danger of slump today.

Time is running short. At this late hour we again advance our explanation of the cause of the present situation and our policy for defending and improving the living standards of the people and off-setting the effects of the threatening crisis.

Britain and World Crisis

For four years the British people have been told "Produce more; export more, and all will be well".

But though production and exports have increased, the position of the working people has worsened.

Now the markets of the capitalist world are shrinking. Fierce competition is developing amongst the capitalist Powers. The Western European countries plan to export more to each other than they are prepared to import from each other.

The low-wage industries in Western Germany and Japan, dominated by U.S. big business, are challenging British exports and menacing the British textile and shipbuilding industries.

In South America, Europe and the British Empire there is increasing competition from America.

British exports to the U.S.A. fell in May from £5,700,000 to £3,500,000. The dollar crisis is intensifying.

Premier Chifley, of Australia, warned on June 21 that "Britain's gold and dollar reserves will not last two years at the present rate of spending", and said "Britain faced a trade and financial collapse which would have the gravest consequences throughout the world".

With the ending of the post-war boom, every capitalist country faces economic slump.

In Western Germany, 1,200,000 are unemployed; in Italy, over 2,000,000; in Belgium, 239,000; in Austria, 131,000; but above all, the most powerful capitalist State in the world—the U.S.A.—the nation that was going to "save Europe from economic crisis", is already in an economic slump.

President Truman's advisers now admit that the present position in the U.S. is not a "healthy adjustment" or even a mild "recession", but a capitalist slump that grows deeper and more alarming every day.

By May this year, 3,289,000 workers were officially admitted to be unemployed and 11½ million were on short time.

Mr. Nourse, President Truman's economic adviser, forecasts at least another 600,000 unemployed in two months from now, and Henry Wallace has declared that by next winter there will be 10,000,000 unemployed in the United States.

In this situation the U.S. will not only intensify its competition in the world capitalist market, it will increase its dictatorial use of the Marshall Plan as a means of getting rid of its surplus commodities, and of preventing nations receiving Marshall Aid from signing trade agreements with other nations.

We have already witnessed the pressure on Britain to prevent her buying wheat from Canada and concluding a new trade agreement with the Argentine, and the pressure for the convertibility of sterling and the devaluation of the £.

These are only the first indications of the effects which the slump in the U.S. will have on Britain—effects which will be far greater than those of the 1929 slump precisely because the leaders of the Labour movement have tied Britain hand and foot to Wall Street.

The Cause of the Crisis

All this is not the result of "acts of God" or circumstances outside the Government's control. It is the result of the Government's refusal to fight the capitalists, and its defence of their wealth and privilege against the working class.

It is the working of the capitalist system itself which produces unemployment and crisis, by piling up profits for the few while wages are kept down to the minimum.

In their insatiable drive for profits, the big monopolists in every capitalist country keep down the wages and purchasing power of their own working class and are constantly driven to seek new markets abroad.

This is the basic cause for the cut-throat competition, the sharp contradictions and the increasing unemployment now growing in the whole capitalist world.

No nation will suffer more than Britain from the effects of the world capitalist crisis. For the war revealed the breakdown of the old monopoly position occupied by British imperialism; and all the post-war developments have still further weakened the imperialist position and demonstrated the bankruptcy of attempts to solve Britain's crisis by continuing an imperialist policy.

Yet precisely such a policy is held out as a "solution" to the present problems by the representatives of capitalism.

The Tories and the spokesmen of big business in Britain now openly gloat at the prospect of a slump, which they see as a means of reducing the standards of the workers still further and of creating discontent with Labour so that Toryism can attempt a comeback at the General Election.

The Economist, big business journal of monopoly capitalism and the Tories, frankly says that the sooner we get back to "normal unemployment"—about 1½ million out of work—"the better for British capitalism".

"A moderate degree of unemployment would do a great deal of good. . . . In conditions of over-full employment, labour costs are steadily pushed upward. . . . The reasonable man . . . will hope for the creation of conditions in which labour costs can at least be stabilised and, if possible, reduced."—(*Economist*, June 4, 1949.)

This is the brutal expression of the policy of monopoly capitalism. The hard fact has to be faced by the Labour movement that the policy the monopolists call for is in practice being carried through by the Labour Government.

The Government's Responsibility

The Labour Government has pursued a policy which has raised the profits of the employers to record heights and has increased prices, while at the same time the purchasing power of the workers has been held down by heavy taxation and wage freezing.

It has made Britain more dependent upon the U.S. and has carried out a rearmament and war policy which drastically undermines the basic economy of Britain, and, as Cripps admits, will even prevent his own plans of "as you were in 1952" from being carried through.

Instead of making agreements to buy as much food and raw materials as possible from non-dollar countries, in exchange for British goods, the

Government has let American big business, in return for dollars, dictate where and how British industry and trade is to be run.

Under American instructions it has carried out a "cold war" against the Soviet Union and its allies, who wanted to buy our exports and could have supplied us with the wheat, foodstuffs, raw materials and timber we are now forced to buy from North America.

To pay for these imports, desperate attempts are made to get British exports into the over-stocked American market. But this effort is far from succeeding; in fact, the American capitalists are now bursting into Britain's former markets and ruthlessly attacking any barriers, such as tariffs or long-term trade agreements, which stand in the way.

As it becomes clear that the dollar export drive is failing, the Government backs the employers' appeals for harder work and less pay, in order to reduce costs for a cut-throat competition in world markets.

All the Government is doing and planning to do can only intensify the factors making for slump by still further cutting purchasing power at home and sharpening capitalist competition and contradictions abroad.

The working people must fight this disastrous policy, and go into action now to lessen the dangers of slump, take the burdens off the poor and place them on the rich.

The Policy of the Communist Party

We appeal to all workers by hand and brain in the British Labour movement to unite their forces and fight for the achievement of the following general line of policy:

Higher wages—Better living standards—More work: End wage-freezing now. The trade unions must fight for their member's just demands for better wages and conditions.

The fight for higher wages is an indispensable part of the fight for increased purchasing power to mitigate the effects of the slump.

Taxes on the workers should be lowered and taxes on profits increased. Old age and war pensions must be raised, the social services expanded and more houses, schools and hospitals built.

Cut the armed forces and military expenditure to provide the men, money and materials to meet the people's needs. *More money in the workers' hands will help prevent unemployment in the factories.*

Prevent dismissals without alternative work: The Government must take the responsibility for seeing that jobs are provided, producing the goods the people need. End the closing of "uneconomic" pits and factories and save the men concerned from being thrown on the scrap heap.

Extend nationalisation of a new type: Purge the present boards of nationalised industries, and put the key positions in the hands of the trusted representatives of the working class.

Reduce drastically the compensation paid to the former owners, and improve wages and conditions for the workers.

Nationalise further basic industries and the land, to cut out monopoly profits and raise wages for the workers.

Ensure more trade with Russia, China and Eastern Europe: The Government should, as it can, immediately conclude large-scale agreements with the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries and the New China, to

exchange our machinery, vehicles, etc., for their wheat, timber and feeding stuffs.

This is especially important because the Soviet Union and the Eastern democracies, which are planned economies, do not suffer from slumps and can offer us a guaranteed market for years ahead.

Similar two-way arrangements can and should be made with other countries that are willing to buy from Britain. Economic co-operation with all and dependence on none should be our watchword.

Into Battle Now

This policy can prevent slump and war and smash the Tory hope of winning power again.

The situation is grave, but there is still time to defeat the plans of the capitalists and warmongers.

The organised workers not only have the last word, they have the real power, if they will use it. In the Soviet Union, the countries of Peoples' Democracy, and the New China there is no fear of slump and unemployment, but hope and confidence in the future.

Where the working class is in power the steps are taken to end capitalist exploitation and private profit-making, to abolish slump and unemployment, and build a Socialist society in which these things are but memories of an unhappy past.

Unlimited prospects of advance will open out before the British people once the working class carries through a real Socialist policy at home and brings our country into close association with this new world that is being built.

Let loyalty to the great principles of the Labour movement now prevail; then both the Tories and their right-wing allies in the Labour movement can be defeated, and a bright future of peace and progress assured to the people of Britain.

THE ATLANTIC PACT

MARCH 24, 1949.

The Communist Party warns the people that if they do not repudiate the Atlantic Pact, they will be dragged into an aggressive war by the American imperialists.

The Atlantic Pact is not a pact for peace. It is a pact for war.

It is the direct continuation of the policy of Churchill's Fulton speech and the Truman doctrine—openly directed to the aims of building up a war front against the Socialist Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies of Eastern Europe.

It is a direct violation of the United Nations Charter and a betrayal of the principle of collective security. It is a return to the old disunited method of sectional military alliances. This path leads to war.

It represents the revival in our day of the old anti-Comintern Pact of Hitler, Togo, and Mussolini and of the Munich Pact of Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Mussolini. These Pacts also sought to build up a bloc of Western Powers against the Soviet Union. They were proclaimed by their sponsors to be only defensive and a bulwark of peace. They led to the Second World War.

The Atlantic Pact is directed against the freedom and national independence of all European countries. It proclaims the right of armed intervention in any country to suppress the working-class and democratic movement, as in Greece.

By this Pact, Britain is tied to the American millionaires and war-lords against Socialism in Europe. Britain is already placed under American military occupation. We do not want Britain to be turned into the "Malta" of an atomic world war.

The policy of the Atlantic Pact is suicidal for Britain. It is placing on this country burdens of rearmament and maintaining armed forces on a scale unprecedented in peace-time. These burdens are wrecking home social reconstruction. The people are crushed under a crippling weight of heavy taxation and high prices to pay for the war policy. Continuance of this policy means economic catastrophe for Britain.

To save peace we must combat and repudiate this Atlantic Pact.

Demand of every Member of Parliament to vote against ratification of the Atlantic Pact.

Rally to the support of the Paris World Conference for Peace.

We warn the Government that the British working people will never allow themselves to be used as the tools of Wall Street and the key for war against Socialist Russia and a Socialist Europe.

The united strength of the peoples of the world will smash the war plans of the Atlantic Pact.

SYD ABBOTT
W. ALEXANDER
G. ALLISON
M. BENNETT
ELINOR BURNS
EMILE BURNS
J. R. CAMPBELL
IDRIS COX
T. DEGNAN
H. DICKENSON
R. P. DUTT
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F. HAXELL
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A. PAPWORTH
P. PIRATIN
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Executive Committee of the Communist Party ★

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